

5
Polit. Sketch vol 157.

A

LOYAL SUBJECT'S
REMONSTRANCE

TO THE

Right Hon. LORD THURLOW, *K*

UPON THE REPORT OF HIS

INTENTION TO RESIGN

THE GREAT SEAL.

LONDON:

Printed for. J. DEBRETT, opposite BURLINGTON
HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

1792.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Letter was written in the Country, and transmitted to the Printer before Lord *Thurlow*'s Resignation, but the Publication has been delayed by an Accident to the Press.

ADVERTISING

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
455 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
LORD THURLOW.

LOUD and unanimous as the public voice has ever been in bearing testimony to the acuteness of your perception, the soundness of your judgement, and the inflexible integrity of your heart, it was still exceeded by the high esteem in which your Lordship's talents and virtues were held by those whose situation enabled them to judge of your public conduct, or whose still more fortunate circumstances brought them within the circle of your private acquaintance. Events unprecedented and embarrassing had called for the most extraordinary display of wisdom and fortitude

B in

in the Keeper of the Great Seal, and they were abundantly conspicuous in the sage advice your Lordship gave the Prince, and the inviolable affection you shewed the King upon that trying occasion; and as both appeared fully sensible of your great merit and services, it became the general hope, as it was the universal wish, that the *conscience* of the King of Great Britain might remain in the safe keeping of your Lordship, till the ravages of time deprived you of the power to keep your own, as the solemn pledge you had given *never to desert the King* removed all apprehension of your voluntary resignation. That you are shortly to resign the Seal is so confidently affirmed as to leave no room for doubt, but God forbid that you should be supposed to intend to desert the King also. You will still be a Peer of Parliament; you will still be an hereditary councillor of the Crown; and you must still remember that you are the sworn servant of the King, solemnly enjoined to give him your best advice, at all times, and upon all matters relating to his government; you will not, therefore, I trust, ever cease to exercise those functions for the good of the Sovereign

reign and the People. Having thus expressed myself as your admirer, give me leave to assume the character of a censor, and to animadvert with the freedom becoming an Englishman upon your resignation, at a time when the ability, the integrity, and the firmness of a Chancellor are so highly necessary to give confidence to the people in the King's government, and ease and satisfaction to His Majesty.—Convulsed as your Lordship must know the several kingdoms of Europe are throughout, and envious of the tranquillity and prosperity of this country as they all are, no common circumspection is requisite in our state pilots to avoid the shoals and rocks which present themselves on every side of the course they are obliged to steer; and although it is supposed that the resolutions of the Cabinet respecting foreign powers have seldom had your concurrence, yet, as you continued in office, and were known to stand high in the confidence of the King, the dignity of your character gave a weight to the Administration in all the Courts of Europe, which their measures could not otherwise have obtained,

and the nation derived some advantage even from your appearing to sanction what you wished had not been adopted. And although your opinions upon measures respecting this country were better known, and your disapprobation of many of them publicly declared, yet such was the confidence of the people in your wisdom and integrity, that they trusted to your interposition to avert the evils you foresaw, and relied upon your vigilance for the public safety, the repose of the King, and the preservation of the Constitution: much therefore of the general content, peace, and good will which so happily subsists among us is to be attributed to your being keeper of the Great Seal; and if such have been the good effects of your having held it, how much is it to be regretted that you are about to resign it; and when the times and circumstances of the King and nation are considered, how will your Lordship find reasons sufficient to justify your resignation?

I do not imagine the associated reformers mean to introduce into our Constitution a
personal

personal representation, such as has been attempted in France, instead of a representation of *property*, which is the essence of the British Constitution; but it is certainly unfortunate for our cause, and a great argument of the abuse of our representation and deviation from its principle, that the three Ministers who now compose the efficient executive administration are so far from representing the national property, or being combined in the common interests of the landed proprietors, that they do not all together possess a property sufficient to qualify even one of them to represent the rottenest borough in the kingdom; is it then consistent with your attachment to the King and Constitution to withdraw your support from both at such a time? The public opinion had followed Mr. Pitt into office, and aversion to his opponents had continued the public attachment to him; he had been fortunate in the issue of the Dutch business, and he had purchased the monied men's support by an unexampled premium to the holders of the navy and ordnance bills, and secured the attachment of the stockholders
by

by his avowed intention to deprive the nation of all advantage from the low price of the annuities, and to add to the enormous profits of the loan jobbers by raising the funds, and thereby augmenting their capitals before he offered any terms of reduction.—Buttress'd with such supports his administration appeared firm, but the events of the last twelve months have shook it to the foundation. Rejecting the proffered alliance of Sweden, when with her assistance he might have attached Denmark and Poland to the defensive compact with Prussia and Holland, and thereby secured the naval stores of the Baltic, and combined a force that would have dictated peace to all the world, he suffered that power to be compelled to make peace with Russia, and afterwards to ally with her; and then (as self-sufficiency is ever apt to run into extremes) he attempted to bully Russia by threatening declarations, when he had lost the occasion of putting them in execution. The consequences are too humiliating to be recollected without indignation, and your Lordship's high character would not have saved the nation from

from suffering by the contempt with which the Empress treated the Minister if its honour had not been protected by the general voice of the people, and especially by the great landed interest in Parliament declaring against his measures. Disregarded and distrusted by foreign states, he hoped to have consoled the public mind and diverted the general disgust by a brilliant operation of finance, but his former good fortune seemed now to have forsaken him, or rather his presumption in appropriating to himself what belonged to others defeated his purpose. He had borrowed from Dr. Price the worst of three plans the doctor had communicated to him, and marr'd it in the execution in order to make it appear his own; and eager to catch the popular applause, he anticipated the usual time of opening the budget that he might have an opportunity of displaying the happy condition of the nation as if flowing from his good management; and among other circumstances of gratulation, decanted upon the advantage of reducing the four per cents. to three, and the profits of a perpetual lottery. The stockholders
took

took alarm, and down went the funds before he could make his bargain; and the city of London, as well as the virtuous Members of the House, felt indignant at the intended trick of making that abominable source of profligacy, a lottery, which had been tolerated during the necessities of the war, and continued to discharge the national engagements to the suffering American Loyalists, a regular system of finance: and thus did the bubble, inflated by his self-conceit, burst in his hands. Incessantly panting after popularity, he encouraged petitions *against the resolutions of the House of Commons* respecting the slave trade in the former session, and when his colleague in office would have shewn tenderness to the suffering planters, deluded into their engagements by reliance upon the faith of acts of Parliament, he rejected the proposition, and sought by a trick unbecoming a great Minister to entrap the Lords and draw from them a premature concurrence with his resolutions, which might pledge them to pass his bill without further deliberation. The little craft of his finance plan in pre-
tending

tending to tye up the hands of his successors was fully detected and exposed by your Lordship; but while you did so, ought you not to have considered how unfit it was for you to leave the management of the public affairs in *such hands* without your powerful control, especially as there were other parts of his conduct which discovered as great a deficiency of sentiment as those I have mentioned betrayed weakness of judgement? The conviction of Mr. Rose of an undue interference in the Westminster election left no doubt of the Minister's connivance in measures by no means consistent with that *virgin purity* he affected; and the opposition he gave to the proposition for a reform of Parliament, *though wise and proper in itself*, when contrasted with his *former* declarations, left even his friends only the alternative of deeming him an *enthusiast* for the sake of popularity in 1783, or a *convert* to power in 1792: was it then becoming a friend of the King and of the Constitution to leave it in the power of such a man to find a Keeper of the Great Seal of corresponding principles? But it is urged by your Lordship's apolo-

gifts that you had borne much from the arrogance of Mr. Pitt, and to avoid giving the King uneasiness, submitted to the most flagrant abuses of the royal confidence; that after discharging your duty by representing the ill consequences of such measures to His Majesty, you had acquiesced in Mr. Pitt's filling the House of Peers with his own connections or dependants, and put the Great Seal to grants of places for life to his creatures which had hitherto been given only during pleasure, though you clearly saw his purpose was to attach a party to himself and disable the King from forming another Administration; that human forbearance has its limits, and your temper was not the most flexible, and when you saw the Royal Family happily united, and the great landed property of the kingdom come forward and declare their determination to support the monarchy and protect the constitutional influence of the Crown, however they might disapprove of the hands to which the exercise of it was entrusted, you judged it proper to retire. But your Lordship must give me leave to contend, that this was

the very time, and these were the *very circumstances*, in which your continuing to hold the Great Seal was most necessary for the public good, in which the King's service must ever be included; because you had a fair occasion to deliver both King and people from the despotism of Mr. Pitt, without subjecting them to the visionary projects of Mr. Fox, adopted without consideration, and persisted in against his own judgement, in the vain hope of obtaining public confidence by *pertinacity*, which he calls consistency, in error. The separation of the great characters who had hitherto acted with Mr. Fox upon the question of reform, was, it is true, treated by him and the other reformers as a difference of opinion upon that question only; but admitting that to be the case, as long as that difference subsists it is impossible for them to come into Administration together, since Mr. Fox must insist upon a reform of Parliament as the condition of his acceptance of office, and the Duke of Portland must likewise insist that no such measure shall take place; both knowing this, what is there to prevent the Duke of Portland and

the other great landed personages connected with him from accepting the King's invitation, and taking office with your Lordship if you continue to hold the Great Seal, and advise His Majesty to dismiss his *Lackland* Ministers? Neither the Prince's debts nor the Prince's objectionable connections can stand in the way of such a truly *constitutional* Administration; as fortunately Mr. Sheridan has joined the reformers, and the affection of the Royal Parent would readily furnish the means to extricate the sons out of their pecuniary embarrassments. But your Lordship's apologists will not allow that *any* Administration from which Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox were excluded could possibly find support from the Parliament or the People against an opposition headed by two such leaders; there is however no reason to apprehend an immediate coalition would take place between those two, as neither their habits or tempers have any similarity; but besides Mr. Fox is too candid and generous in his nature not to acquiesce in the necessity of his being left out of any arrangement the Duke of Portland and your Lordship might
make.

make *at present*, and I should expect to see him give his full support out of office until times and circumstances admitted of his coming in : but take it at the worst, and as your apologists suppose that they do coalesce in opposition, what credit would either retain with the Public, and what following would they have in Parliament against an Administration so upright, so able, and so firmly attached by principle, interest, and connection to the Constitution and national prosperity as that which might *now* be formed without either. The great men of the nation are so fully convinced of the danger of innovation, and so well persuaded that no emoluments of office, no elevation of place, nor any popular following can compensate to them for the mischiefs to be apprehended from civil commotions, that they will not suffer any petty considerations of attachment to party or individuals to withhold them from giving their assistance to maintain the public tranquillity, and to add dignity and efficiency to the King's government, by the influence of their private characters and the weight of their great properties and
 extensive

extensive connections : and there surely never was a time when it was more necessary for them to do so, as there never was a time when purity of character, dignity of station, eminent ability, and weight of property were more necessary in an Administration than at present. To combat with firmness that spirit of innovation which is gone forth under the guise of *reform* ought to be the principle and bond of union among them all, and therefore no man who may be charged with countenancing or promoting such a spirit ought to be admitted into the Cabinet ; for all recantations, distinctions of times, and seasons, while they reflect disgrace upon those who make them, serve to keep alive the hopes of the innovators, and to prevent that perfect acquiescence under the present system which despondence would produce, and which it is so much for the general happiness should take place. That your Lordship and the Public may see that there is no want of such men to fill the great offices of the State, I will set down the names of as many of the most distinguished characters in the two Houses of Parliament

ment as would be sufficient to compose an Administration uncontaminated by projects of reform, of unblemished reputation, and eminent abilities, and equally entitled to the confidence of the King and of the People.

LORD THURLOW, Chancellor.

LORD CAMDEN, President of the Council.

DUKE OF PORTLAND, First Lord of the Treasury.

LORD STORMONT, Secretary of State, foreign Department.

LORD RAWDON, ditto, home Department.

MARQUIS OF STAFFORD, Privy Seal, or a Dukedom if he chuses to retire, and the EARL OF DARTMOUTH Privy Seal.

EARL OF CARLISLE, First Lord of the Admiralty.

EARL FITZWILLIAM, a Marquis, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

MARQUIS OF TOWNSHEND, Master General of the Ordnance.

LORD

LORD HAWKESBURY, Chancellor of
the Duchy, and President of the
Board of Trade.

EARL OF GUILFORD, occasional Ca-
binet Counsellor.

MR. WYNDHAM, Chancellor of the
Exchequer.

MR. ELLIS, Treasurer of the Navy.

LORD BEAUCHAMP, Secretary at War.

LORD NORTH,
LORD SHEFFIELD, } Paymasters.

LORD BELGRAVE,
SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, } Lords of the
MR. JENKINSON, } Treasury.
MR. PELHAM, }

To which might be added many others as
unexceptionable to fill up the other offices,
or to replace such of these as might refuse
to continue or accept. From an Admini-
stration so constituted, the colonies would
have no breach of compact to apprehend,
and their confidence in the good faith and
affection of Parliament, would revive and
with it their attachment to the general
interests of the empire, and cheerful acqui-
escence in the restraints their commerce is
laid

laid under for the common benefit and safety. No camps need be formed, nor that dangerous expedient of bringing several regiments together when topics of reform are agitated and seditious papers circulated, hazarded to awe the turbulent; nor extraordinary powers given to the Magistrates to enforce obedience to the laws; for the reverence of the People would return to the Administration, and the general confidence would insure the public tranquillity. Was it not then your Lordship's duty to advise His Majesty to form such an Administration instead of resigning the Great Seal, and thereby to have entitled yourself to the thanks of all good men, as well as of

Your humble Servant,

*A loyal Subject, and Lover of
the British Constitution ?*



NEW PUBLICATIONS,

Printed for J. DEBRET, opposite Burlington House, Piccadilly.

THE PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER; or the History of the Proceedings and Debates in both Houses of Parliament; containing an Account of the most interesting Speeches and Motions, authentic Copies of all important Letters and other Papers laid before the House, authentic Minutes of the most material Evidence, Protests, Bills, Petitions, &c.

* * * At the Desire of several Persons of distinguished Abilities and Rank, this Work was undertaken. The favourable Reception it has met with during the THREE LAST and present Parliaments, not only demands the most grateful Acknowledgements of the Editors, but encourages them to prosecute a Continuation of the same, during the present Parliament. For this Purpose, and to prevent Misrepresentation, they beg Leave again to solicit the Assistance of all their former Friends, and every other Gentleman. A strict Attention will be paid to all their Commands and Favours; nor will any Assiduity or Care be wanting to preserve that Truth and Accuracy for which this Work has hitherto been distinguished.

The PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER of the former or FIRST SESSION of the present Parliament, in 3 vols. Price 1l. 11s. 6d. half bound and lettered.

The PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER from the General Election in 1780 to the Dissolution of Parliament in 1784, in 14 Volumes, Price 5l. 5s. half bound and lettered.

The PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER from the General Election in 1784 to the Dissolution of Parliament in 1790, in 13 Volumes, Price 6l. 12s. half bound and lettered.

The DEBATES and PROCEEDINGS of BOTH HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, from the Year 1743 to the Year 1774.

✍ The several fugitive Publications of the Proceedings of Parliament, during this long and interesting period, have been assiduously collected, and carefully collated with the Journals.

NEW PUBLICATIONS, printed for J. DEBRETT.

Journals. Of the Commons there has been only one imperfect collection published, which is become very scarce; and of the Lords, there has been no Publication whatever, except a few detached Papers. This Work is intended to fill up an important Chasm in the PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY of Great Britain. Chandler's Collection of Debates ends in the Year 1743, and the PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER commences in the Year 1774. During this Interval, there is no Account of the Proceedings of Parliament that can be relied upon. Printed uniformly to bind with the Parliamentary Register. In Seven large Volumes Octavo, Price 2l. 9s. in Boards.

The SPEECH of WARREN HASTINGS, Esq. June 2, 1791, with Notes and Copies of the Official Documents referred to by Mr. Hastings; to which are subjoined, some Observations on the Impeachment. Price 3s.

INTERESTING ANECDOTES of HENRY IV. of FRANCE; containing sublime Traits and lively Sallies of Wit of that Monarch, digested into Chronological Order, and forming a complete Picture of the Life of that amiable and illustrious Hero. Elegantly printed in two Volumes, small octavo, Price 6s. in Boards.

SPEECHES of M. de MIRABEAU the Elder, pronounced in the National Assembly of France; to which is prefixed, a Sketch of his Life and Character. Translated from the French Edition of M. Mejan by James White, Esq. Elegantly printed in 2 Vols. Octavo, Price 12s. in Boards.

MEMORIAL on the Present State of POLAND: to which is added, an Examination of the MEMORIAL. Price 2s. 6d.

An HISTORICAL SKETCH of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, to the Commencement of 1792. Price 7s. in boards.

LETTERS from PARIS, written during the Summer of 1791, illustrated with an elegant Engraving representing the Capture of Louis XVI. at Varennes, Price 6s. in boards.

